UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

In the Harz Mountains

By SYDNEY STRONG

Away with Iniquitous Treaties!

By P. M. MATTHÉEFF

Medieval Habits of Mind

By ROWLAND F. NYE

The Periscope

By EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD

VOLUME XCII NUMBER 2

Chicago, September 27, 1923

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCII. THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1923 NUMBER 2

The disaster in Japan has set a thousand editorial writers musing on the mightiness of nature and the puniness of man. But it seems to us that another reading of the event is not only possible but inevitable. We think that here we have more testimony of tenacity than ever before. Hundreds of thousands are dead in Tokio, but millions live. Across that plain which lies above a fire stream the earthquakes roll like sluggish waves. Each year a thousand or more have tugged at the tops of Tokio. When bamboo quivers there it is not the wind.

So it has gone on for centuries. This is the mightiest yet of all recorded assaults, and man remains. In a thousand years nature has not been able to shake him off. Though the ground has rocked and swayed beneath him like a bronco, the little Japanese sits tight. And across the world from fellow man there should come a mighty and defiant shout—"Ride him, cowboy!"

Within a year the tea houses will stand in the streets where the dead lie. Geishas will sing again of Johnkeen, or however his name is spelled. "Yokohama, Nagasaki, Kobe, maru hoi!"

Who says that man is puny? He falls and sleeps and dies awhile and then he is up again. Perhaps it is not the same man, but the ranks do fill. After the wave and the hurricane and the earthquake, life crawls from under the debris. What permanent victory has nature ever won from us? Neither ice nor fires nor floods have checked the succession of humankind. Other species have given up the fight, but man is the finest animal of the lot. The sun cannot drive him from the tropics and he sets down his foot beyond the arctic in barren lands where even the microbe cannot live.

To be sure, our perch upon this earth is precarious. Only the crust has been won. Flame and water menace us from beneath and above are mighty bodies capable of flipping the whole globe into the dust bin. But they haven't done it yet. Nature outweighs us and nature has the punch. Man has staggered and bled and reeled from the hammer blows. He hasn't gone down. Until the final ten has been counted, who dares to say that he is puny?

—Heywood Broun, in New York "World."

The League of Nations has met its supreme and perfect test; under conditions wholly favorable to itself, as we pointed out in our last issue, and—alas, be it said!—has failed! It is true, as its partisans are now so feverishly proclaiming, that the League has not collapsed utterly and disappeared. For such comfort and encouragement as it may give them, these partisans may rightly emphasize that the Geneva body still lives. But merely to continue to live, as an end in itself, seems to us as futile as the achievement of the Abbé who, when asked what he had done during the French Revolution, replied that he had "survived"! It has always been our impression that the League of Nations was organized for the purpose not merely of existing but of functioning to the service of great ends of international peace and justice. Now comes the Graeco-Italian crisis to show that, however truly it may be still alive, the League is no more able to function than a paralytic. Distrusting our own judgment on a problem so complex and so momentous, especially in view of our fundamental disbelief in the efficacy of the League from the beginning, we have taken pains to test our judgment by that of others, and have been amazed to discover the extent to which this judgment has been confirmed. In saying this, we do not refer to the chortling glee of the Boston *Transcript* that the Italian case involves "an all but fatal repudiation of (the League's) authority and usefulness"; the *Transcript* is unintelligent, untrustworthy, and bitterly partisan, a paper whose word is not to be accepted on any question. Rather do we have in mind such a newspaper as the New York *Times*, which has supported the League with every resource of fact and argument. Finding comfort in the League's focussing of public opinion against Italy, it nevertheless points out with praiseworthy candor that Mussolini has done just what he started out to do. "Having first arrested and executed the criminal," says the *Times*, "he (Mussolini) graciously consents to have an impartial investigation made in order to determine whether the man was guilty." Still more emphatic in judgment is that great newspaper, the New York *World*, the ablest and most stalwart journalistic champion that the League has had in this country. Pointing out justly that the Graeco-Italian crisis "has been peaceably resolved," the *World* goes on in honesty to state that "the relation of the League to the settlement remains unclarified. Mussolini's defiance of it has been passed in silence. . . . Corfu remains in Italian hands. There is as yet nothing on the record to show that the Council of Ambassadors could not have been as effective if the League were not in existence." Contending that "it is too early to estimate whether the League has met or failed to meet its first great test," the *World* confesses "the anxiety of the friends of the League," and urges that body to assert itself before it is too late.

To understand the completeness of the League's failure in this Italian affair, we only have to review the course of events. A mere statement of the facts, without argument, tells the story. On what *The New Republic* well calls "one of the flimsiest pretexts in the history of imperial aggression," Italy committed an act which no less a man than Lord Hugh Cecil

calls "the most flagrant breach of the public law of Europe that has happened since the time of Napoleon, excepting the invasion of Belgium in 1914." Without a word of warning she bombarded a peaceful shore, killed twenty civilians, including sixteen refugee children, seized an island long coveted for the control of the Adriatic, and issued against a feeble and wretched nation an ultimatum more drastic in terms than Austria's ultimatum against Serbia in 1914. All this was done, mind you, by one member of the League as against another member! In an instant, the whole covenant of the League was torn into shreds. Did the League act, as the terms of the covenant expressly provide that it *shall* act in a case of such wanton violation of its solemn pledges by one of its members, and as it actually *has* acted against small nations, such as Albania, for example? On the contrary, the League never moved a muscle—never gave a single peep. Only when Greece, in her desperate extremity, appealed to the League for aid, did it take cognizance of the situation. This was followed by Mussolini's open defiance of the League—his denial that the League had jurisdiction in such "an affair of honor," his denial that Greece was a member of the League in good standing and therefore entitled to a hearing—his brutal threat to withdraw from the League if its machinery were set in motion against him. Here was the League face to face with reality. What did it do? Answer Mussolini's challenge, as any brigand would naturally be answered, by utilizing upon the instant every resource of law and order? The articles of the covenant define exactly what shall be done in a crisis of this kind. But the League did not do them—not one! On the contrary, it side-stepped every issue by referring the matter not to its own Council or Assembly, not to a sub-committee, not even to its much-vaunted Court of International Justice, but, of all places in the world, to the Council of Ambassadors, which was just to Mussolini's taste, as was promptly proved by the action of the Ambassadors in awarding everything in dispute to Italy. The shells went to Greece, to be sure, but the oysters to her assailant! To sum up the whole matter—the League was insulted, threatened, ignored, outraged, flouted by one of its own most powerful members, and did nothing to assert its dignity and authority in the face of such experience. Meanwhile, the issue in dispute has been settled not according to the conditions laid down by the Covenant of the League, but by those very devices of diplomacy which the League was expressly organized to supersede and to abolish. And, as always in such diplomatic settlements, the nation with the big guns walks off with all the swag. As Lloyd George has aptly put it, "Force is still the supreme arbiter of right and wrong in international affairs in Europe." For all the machinery of the League, reason, justice, and law still avail nothing in international relations.

Excuses for the League's failure in this decisive case are being freely offered. In the main, these excuses are three in number. (1) First, peace has been preserved. To this we answer, in good Yankee fashion—what do you mean by "peace"? To our way of thinking, Italy carried on a war—all the war that was necessary to effect her purposes. This war involved the use of a navy, the capture of territory, and casualties. To the dead in Corfu the war was as dreadful and as complete as the Great War itself. But granted that peace has in this fearful crisis been miraculously preserved—what of it? This is not the first time that peace has been preserved on such an occasion. Long before the League was heard of, peace was preserved in the "Fashoda incident" and in the "Agadir crisis," exactly as in this Graeco-Italian affair—and by the same diplomatic methods. The trouble is, such peace-making by diplomats, acting under the influence of diplomatic interest, has no surety or permanency; it means nothing from the standpoint of a peaceful world. Peace is made or preserved a dozen times, only to end, as in 1914, in a universal cataclysm. (2) Secondly, it is argued in excuse, by the champions of the League, that the League was the influence which enabled the Council of Ambassadors to preserve peace. Had not the League been behind the Ambassadors, they contend, the Council in Paris might not have acted, or, having acted, Mussolini might not have accepted their action. The League, in other words, was a definite and important part of the peace process. This reminds us of the story of the fly on the chariot wheel who congratulated himself on the clouds of dust he was kicking up. If the friends of the League are satisfied to have their organization nothing more than a new corridor or portal through which the diplomats must pass before they transact their business of peace or war, as the case may be, so be it. But this is not our idea of a league of nations! (3) Lastly, the League's friends, in sincere apology, emphasize that the League is young, that we must not expect too much, that we must give it time. All very good!—but how does this contention hitch up with the comparison which the League's proponents are so fond of making between the League Covenant and the United States Constitution? We beg to point out that this latter document began to function successfully just as soon as it was put into effect by the sanction of the thirteen states. There was here no matter of waiting, or of expecting too much or too little. The Constitution was effective *from the start* because it was made to be effective. The same thing would be true of the League, if there were any real effectiveness in it. This effectiveness would begin to show today, and not merely in the indefinite tomorrow. As a matter of fact, the real comparison here, as we have said so often, is not between the Leagtue Covenant and the United States Constitution, but between the Covenant and the Articles of

Confederation. From the beginning these Articles were a failure. It was confidently prophesied that time and experience would make them a success, but they never did. The Articles did not function because they were not made to function. The same thing is true of the League. It serves very well when the great powers, or some one of them, want to accomplish some selfish purpose under respectable auspices; but when the business of peace, which means curbing or balking the great powers, or some one of them, is in question, the League simply avails nothing.

The Italian affair, therefore, registers a League failure. Let it be said at once, however, with all possible emphasis, that this failure is not to be regarded in any sense as a tragedy. On the contrary, we count it a blessing—a blessing in disguise, perhaps, but still a blessing! It clears away illusion; it makes for reality; it shows once for all what we have, or have not, in the League of Nations, and what must be done to make this organization genuinely effective for the peace of the world. It is in Geneva itself, in the meetings of the representatives of the powers there assembled, that we see most clearly the good that this Italian episode has wrought. The smaller nations are in revolt; they now see, what many of us have seen from the beginning—that the League is a mere instrument of the great Allies, which they regard or disregard as suits their own selfish interests at the moment, unfit and intended to be unfit for any real accomplishment in the field of international justice and order. Hjalmar Branting, of Sweden, declares openly in the Assembly that the League "has in practice proved ineffective," and demands that something be done. M. Lange, of Norway, asserts that the small nations "must have guarantees from the big powers" that they intend to live up to the obligations of the Covenant. A Persian Prince, Arfaed Dowler, affirming that "it would be a tragedy if the League were to perish," and that "it must live, prosper and flourish," argues without qualification that, if the League is to survive, "methods must change, and the great powers give an example of respect for the League by finding in it their own security and by submitting all matters to arbitration." M. Lange, of Norway, and Jonkheer Loudon, of Holland, agree upon the momentous assertion that "compulsory jurisdiction for the Court of International Justice is essential to the success of international agreements." Most significant of all—within a week after the passing of the Italian crisis, it is announced in an Associated Press dispatch from Geneva that a sub-committee of the League is at work upon an agreement defining all aggressive war to be a crime. These last two suggestions, it should be noted, are identically the proposals laid down by Mr. S. O. Levinson in his program for the Outlawry of War, and set forth by Senator Borah in his Senate Resolution. Here is the Italian crisis leading straight to what we have always contended in these columns—that the League must be remade if it is to effect the purpose for which it was ostensibly established. This is the blessed side of what has taken place in Italy. The failure of the League promises to bring us at last a real league; and, better still, to lead the way to the recognition and adoption of those Levinson-Borah principles which UNITY was the first paper in America to proclaim and espouse, and for more than two years now, has been offering as its Program for Peace.

The ending of the anthracite coal strike sooner rather than later, indicates that there was something in the public opinion of these days which the operators and the miners did not like. Perhaps it was the talk of a boycott, perhaps the latent fear of public ownership—we do not know! At any rate, the veteran combatants hastened instead of dawdled to the inevitable settlement, and the mines are being worked once more. The situation we described last week, however, remains absolutely unchanged. What we have, as the radical *Nation* points out, is merely "a temporary halt in the struggle"; or, as the conservative Boston *Herald* puts it, "a truce . . . and not a permanent peace." A hastily patched-up agreement keeps things going a while longer, but also makes certain another dispute, and another crisis, and another strike of longer or shorter duration, in the near future. "So long," says *The Nation* (September 12, page 253), "as the miners are appeased with slightly higher wages and the operators with advanced prices—all passed on to the consumer—just so long is the public going to suffer from strikes and lack of coal." At bottom is a fundamental question—that of the right of private ownership of a natural monopoly which is also a necessity of life. This question can be permanently settled in a democracy in only one way; and until that settlement is made, nothing done is of any essential importance. South Dakota has invested in a state-owned coal-mine in North Dakota. The last coal strike in this latter state was stopped immediately and permanently by Governor Frazier's taking over the mines and placing them as a public enterprise in the hands of the miners. Here is action worth while! UNITY stoutly believes in the public ownership of coal mines, as also of oil wells, forests and water-power sites; and it presents this program as a constructive remedy for the ills that now afflict us.

The late William Roscoe Thayer provides a peculiar case for critical judgment. His "Life and Times of Cavour," by which he will always be gratefully and honorably remembered, was a masterpiece of the first order. Its exhaustive research, its abundant information, its accurate and brilliant picture of a great epoch and a great man, its fascinating literary style, combine

to make this book one of the most notable biographies of modern times in our own or any other language. The outburst of applause which greeted this work was at once a welcome to a great achievement and an expression of excited expectancy of what was still to come. It is just here, in this latter respect, that Mr. Thayer becomes a peculiar case. Nothing that followed "Cavour" was worthy of even a second-rate historian. "The Life of John Hay" was a charming book, delightful to read, and had much scholarly dignity; but it showed little original research and offered no careful critique of an important subject. His "Theodore Roosevelt" contained some valuable first-hand material based on personal experience, but was so hastily written, so crudely put together, so indiscriminately laudatory, as to be altogether unworthy both of the author and his theme. As for his life of Washington, it was a mere pot-boiler and a bad one at that. Something was wrong here—and this something is clearly revealed in two important facts. The first is Thayer's unfair treatment of Mazzini in his "Cavour," for which nothing but his absorption in his own hero can win forgiveness. The second is his raging fury during the Great War against the Germans, which was expressed in writings of such amazing ferocity as to suggest the vulgarities of a gangster rather than the sobrieties of a scholar. Thayer, as a matter of fact, was not an historian in the true sense of the word at all. He had no detachment, no calm poise of judgment, no spirit of fairness. He was all his life a partisan making out a case, not a scholar seeking truth. Nevertheless, by some happy chance, he wrote one great book, as Franck wrote one great symphony and Blackmore one great novel. Perhaps this is enough for one life—all else may be forgotten.

Jottings

The cause of the Japanese earthquake has been made plain by Dr. Massee, of Boston, leader of the Baptist Fundamentalists. It was due, says the distinguished clergyman, to Satan's malignant desire to cause trouble and suffering in the world. "Satan threw a monkey wrench into the machinery; and if God had not ordered him to go no further, he would have destroyed the whole island of Japan." All very simple! But why didn't God stop him earlier? If Satan is guilty of murder and destruction, surely, on this theory, the Almighty is guilty of contributory negligence.

We learn from an official statement that the expenses of New York City have gone up 63 per cent in six years—from $238,336,372 in 1917 to $389,276,458 in 1923. We never read an item of this kind but what we wonder if government is worth it—and why.

In view of all that Mussolini is doing these days, we imagine that Yale and Columbia are enjoying the memory of the honorary degrees which they conferred last June upon his ambassador in Washington. We imagine also that Secretary Hughes is enjoying the memory of his immediate recognition of Mussolini after the latter's revolutionary seizure of the Italian government. Lenin, a statesman bringing order out of chaos, outlawed; Mussolini, a brigand running amuck, recognized and honored! It's a funny old world, my brethren.

Mr. Ponsonby, speaking in the English House of Commons on July 23rd last, in the famous Armaments debate, said: "If it were an international regulation that the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of any country that declared war or waged war should be put up against the wall and shot, there never would be war." Quite so! This is only a vivid personal application of the legal aspects of Mr. S. O. Levinson's program for the Outlawry of War.

Governor Pinchot has settled the Pennsylvania coal strike, as Mayor Peters settled the Boston Police strike. It is going to be interesting to see if President Coolidge succeeds in taking the credit away from the former as handily as Governor Coolidge took it away from the latter.

In the New York *Times,* Friday, September 14, on page 10, Mr. George W. Wickersham, eminent American lawyer, says that "the first test of the League of Nation in a crisis, that precipitated by the Graeco-Italian controversy, has apparently been successfully met." On page 21, of this same issue of the *Times,* M. Paul Mancel, representative of the French bar at the recent meeting of the American Bar Association, says that the League "is impotent. . . . Neither the World Court nor the League of Nations had anything to do with it (the change of the Italian viewpoint in the quarrel with Greece)." An interesting clash of opinion, to say the least.

Rev. Vivian T. Pomeroy, minister of Greenfield Church, Bradford, England, crossed three thousand miles of ocean to tell the General Unitarian Conference, meeting at New Haven, that "the old Protestantism of England is played out; its spiritual impulse is exhausted. . . . We need a new Protestantism." We know of no more important message that such a messenger could bring. We wonder if he made his Unitarian listeners see that what is true in England is equally true in America. J. H. H.

In the Harz Mountains

Editorial Correspondence.

A four days' trip in the Harz Mountains proved to be an interesting social experiment and introduced me to one of the play-grounds of the Germans.

It happened this way. I had many times heard of the Harz Mountains as a place for a walk. I said to a teacher, "What about these Harz Mountains of yours?" The reply came, "O, they are fine, only none of us nowadays thinks of making such expensive trips." "Well," said I, "how would it do for you to make up a little party? You can't go, because you haven't the money. I can't go, because I haven't the brains. You furnish the brains, I'll furnish the money. We'll call it an absolutely mutual enterprise—with equal partnership." They demurred at first, on the ground that it was unfair to me; but I showed them that brains should be reckoned equal to money—anyway by teachers.

The result was that on Friday morning last I was introduced to four English-speaking German teachers, whom I had never met before—excepting one of them. We were to be traveling companions for four days; I was to furnish the money and they the brains, and experience. Not once, let me say, did we think of each other as other than comrades. It proved to be a very successful social experiment.

We put up at inexpensive hotels or boarding houses, known to some members of the party. Usually two of the teachers—the "captain," or "conductor" or "doctor" went ahead to reconnoiter—the English-speaking foreigner being kept in the rear, when the question of price-making was discussed. Twice we attended entertainments—at Hildesheim and Harzburg—and I enjoyed the benefit of "home-prices." We walked over the Ilse-pass, going on the hills above the town of Ochre, that put ochre among the colors. We strolled about the two ancient towns of Goslar and Hildesheim, with their sixteenth century architecture. The hotel in which we slept on the last night at Hildesheim, the "Wiener Hof," was built in 1611. It was an ideal outing with a mixture of waterfalls, winding paths, snow-clad hills, ancient churches, walls and dwelling places—and Americans will be interested to learn that the trip of four days, for five people, for all expenses, including a four hours' railway journey each way, fees, hotels, etc., cost under $14.00.

If it could be managed, this would be a good way for visiting Americans to see Germany. Come to a mutual understanding, that Germans possess the knowledge necessary to see Germany well, while Americans possess, in this year of our Lord, the money. Let one furnish "capital" and the other "experience"—which combination, I take it, could make a fair partnership. At any rate, from my point of view the enterprise was eminently satisfactory. I learned abundantly more than I could possibly learn otherwise. My German friends expressed themselves as satisfied.

I intimated that they all possessed a working knowledge of English. One of the teachers has a class of "commercial girls" in English, which I visited and was delighted to hear them read and speak so well. During the war English was taught in the schools. They wrote a dozen letters, in English, to unknown friends in America. In a week or so, I hope to secure twice that number, then the bunch will be sent to some teacher, or some pastor like John Haynes Holmes, or some citizen like Judge Everett Smith of Seattle—to be placed in the hands of as many American girls of same age, for correspondence. Which suggests the thought, that a hundred thousand boys and girls, of America and Germany, should be put into writing correspondence. Who will bring it to pass?

On Sunday morning, I went to the principal church of Harzburg—being drawn especially by the fact that a confirmation class of 100 boys and girls was to receive first communion. I regret that I didn't enjoy it: for these children were told that, in order to be good, they must be loyal to the Church—that is, this particular branch of the Church. Here enters priestcraft and authority, which have led the nations into this desert—blind guides of the blind. Just back of the children, on the wall, in a conspicuous place, were two tablets containing the names of those who had made sacrifice of life in the Great War. The number of dead was equal to those in the confirmation class. It made me shiver to think how these living innocents were being trained for the slaughter, as are the children of all lands. And it was worse, next day, in the cathedral at Hildesheim, boasting of its "Trajan Column" and relics and jewels and pictures and choir-screen, when I saw a group of tourists rubber-necking around after a fat, red-begowned verger, who was pointing out the places of interest. I shuddered, as I reflected how I had joined in such pilgrimages in cathedrals and museums years ago. I can see the why of the Youth Movement in Germany—a strong insurgence against the "fathers." I rejoice in this insurgence of youth, though it may express itself extravagantly in its natural protest. I can see the why of the action of Cromwell in stabling his horses in English cathedrals. I can see the why of the protest of the Puritan conscience against "fiddling" while Rome was burning.

What did I observe in the four days of companionship while walking in the Harz Mountains? Many things—for one catches sight of many things, as he walks and talks and eats, and carries a knap-sack, uphill and down-hill. Our best knowledge comes, at least mine does, in flashes.

Among other things I am convinced that Germans are unwarlike! I see this everywhere. It was confirmed by the children of the landlady at Harzburg, who sang and played games the evening we were there. I saw it in the children and farmers I met along the road. I saw it in the teachers with whom I fraternized. Germans are a peace-loving people. I am convinced of a second thing. Germans are poor propagandists. What they have shown in political life, I have seen over and over again, when I have had printing done or engaged in welfare work, or closely watched their mental action, in street, in home, in shops. They do not know how to "advertise" or to push a plan of propaganda. I came to the conclusion on this trip that Germans are lovers of nature but are not woodsmen. They go into ecstasies over flowers and almost tread softly in a garden: they will go swinging through the woods with knap-sacks on their backs and guitars slung over their shoulder, but when finding the way they consult faithfully a map. They

do not have a woodsman's instinct in following a trail. Scores of times on this trip, the leader would pause and take out the map, "call a council," which would be followed by a long discussion—and then proceed. My observation that Germans love nature but are poor woodsmen, I think, is correct, but conveys many implications. The American, by contrast, from his pioneer training, is a natural woodsman.

Germans eat frequently: so much so that in fun I dubbed our party the "always eating club." I do not say that they eat much (for the evidence is abundant that hundreds of thousands, in cities and industrial districts, are sadly underfed), but they sip and munch and nibble often. Wherever one goes it is the same. On the train every passenger will nibble a sandwich or sip a glass of coffee or beer (by the way there are hundreds of thousands of teetotalers in Germany, but this is another thing). He takes out a sandwich or bar of chocolate, between acts at an opera or drama or concert, and nibbles. Several times has a postal clerk, while waiting on me—with a cue waiting behind—calmly closed the glass window and leisurely proceeded to sip from a cup of coffee. A clerk in the American Express, Berlin, was sucking an egg while waiting on me. German eating is similar to refreshing the earth by a continuous drizzle of rain, while American eating is more like three down-pours of rain during the day. I am only observing, not philosophizing, on this subject.

On the trains one observes that German men do not give their seats up to women—though seats are sometimes surrendered to old people. My grey head nearly got into trouble. The conductor and my companions insisted on my taking the one vacant seat. A few minutes later I insisted on surrendering it to a woman. They could not solve my manner of action. Masculine deference for women is most to be found in America. I have in mind all countries as I make this observation. The heavy loads I see on the backs of women, in London, in Berlin, in Brussels, in Rotterdam, in Moscow, in Riga, must come off, before the race can travel faster. On the trains, too, while Americans heat their cars, they fling open the windows: Germans heat their cars and houses (far more than the English) but keep doors and windows tightly shut. On German trains, the wish of one passenger may compel the closing of a window or door.

One more observation: I noticed a characteristic of the people which impressed me unfavorably, until I discovered what, I think, is the reason. I noticed a tendency to rush for the best seats, with little social consideration for one's neighbor. It puzzled me in cases when I knew the motive of selfishness did not govern. This is probably true in all civilizations, where social and economic competition has played upon the life of the people. In the case of Germans—who are no more faulty than others—I came to the conclusion that they had cultivated a power of concentration which made them oblivious of others. A German is single-tracked in his desires: and with his power of concentration fails in possessing to a large degree social instinct. He will brush you in a crowd, without knowing it. Many times have I asked a German a question—which an American could have answered as he ran—but if he was doing something—writing, or even speaking to a boot-black—he would finish first what he had begun. What seems like social selfishness in a German, I have concluded, is due to his mental habit of concentration and method, for in thousands of instances I have found the Germans naturally unselfish.

I am glad I had the co-operative tramping enterprise: this dip in the ocean of German life. I have come back convinced that Germans are an honest, cheerful (temporarily depressed), sentimental, nature-loving, patient, intelligent, peace-loving people. I should say they were child-like, rather than sophisticated. I am convinced that no other nation can hold them down—if they remain conscious of their strength and riches which lie outside the realms of trade and finance.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Away with Iniquitous Treaties!

[From Our Bulgarian Correspondent.]

Signor Francesco Nitti, former Italian Premier, and delegate to the Versailles Peace Conference, has published also the book "The Decadence of Europe." The translator in Bulgarian of this book asked and obtained from the author a preface for the translation. The preface is a sketch of what was intended and expected and of what has resulted from these peace treaties. The rampant bad faith which guided the authors of these treaties is clearly set out. The statements of such an authority, on such an important subject, should, I think, be given the widest publication, especially when they are presented in a concise form, as in this case, for the general benefit, otherwise they would remain comparatively a sealed letter if limited to the Bulgarian translation:

"I am much pleased to see the present work translated also in Bulgarian, and this not only because of the great sympathy I have for the Bulgarian people, but also because of the firm hope I have in its future.

"In my work 'Europe Without Peace,' translated in nearly all the languages, as also in Bulgarian, I explained the origin of the Versailles Treaty, which, in its germ contains all the other treaties: the St. Germain, Trianon, Neuilly and Sèvres.

"Wilson promised explicit peace treaties, he extolled the abandonment of secret diplomacy, the freedom of the seas, the suppression of all economical barriers, and provided appropriate guarantees, granted and received by both sides, allowing the reduction to the minimum of the armament of all, the institution of a League of Nations which should secure to all the countries, big and small, victorious and vanquished, reciprocal guarantees for political independence, integrity of territory, etc.

"According to Wilson, the modification in territory was to be limited to the return to France of Alsace and Lorraine, taken from her in 1870; to the rectification of Italy's frontier; to an understanding between the peoples constituting Austria-Hungary, an understanding based upon their free development, their autonomy appropriate to existing conditions; finally to the creation of a free Poland, in its ethnical limits.

"Wilson never spoke, in the name of the *Entente*, of depriving the vanquished of other territories, he

spoke of the evacuation of the invaded territories. Neither Wilson, nor Briand, who had made other solemn declarations in the name of the *Entente*, ever made allusions to depriving Bulgaria of any of her territory.

"Instead of instituting an ethnical Poland, they created a Poland half of which is peopled by people foreign to her; to constitute a great Czecho-Slovakia, a great Jugo-Slavia, a great Greece, vast territories were seized from the vanquished countries, wholly German, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish. Before the war there was in Europe one Austria-Hungary, distracted by internal national struggles, where fermented hatred and divergence of all kinds, today there are several.

"I do sympathize with Greece and Jugo-Slavia and would see Italy their sincere friend; I would also see them establish lasting conditions with the other Balkan peoples. But I must insist that many concessions have been made to them contrary to the interest of peoples, which certainly, will not be of advantage to them. The territories ceded to them against every justice, those in particular to Roumania, do not constitute a simple gift for them: therein lie motives for new hatred and causes for future wars. That which is based upon iniquity cannot be enduring. All these arbitrary and unjust creations, all this monstrous brigandage are preparing new hatreds, new struggles, may they not bring about future wars.

"Europe is stepping every day towards decadence. The principles of liberty and democracy conquered at the expense of so much blood and so much effort during centuries have been held in contempt. It is very humiliating to count oneself an European in the present development of things.

"After taking part in the accomplishment of grave mistakes, Great Britain is now endeavoring to withdraw. But in the face of the violence which rules on the European continent, she does not think it advisable to isolate herself. America on her part is endeavoring to keep aloof: one does not step voluntarily upon contaminated land.

"It is difficult to forecast. But this dark hour in the world's life is only the result of iniquitous treaties, and only the correction of these, as also the destruction of the work of violence can lead to conditions of life in which one will be less troubled by brutality.

"If the conquering countries are suffering after the war from internal troubles, the vanquished ones are suffering far more. During a period of contentment, families live with little trouble, when debts and misery press upon them, misunderstandings become inevitable, thus the vanquished countries are disorganized by their internal struggles.

"I do indeed trust that Bulgaria will surmount her immense trial. Her race is energetic, laborious and tenacious, the Bulgarian youth possesses both physical health and moral firmness. Bulgaria has preserved in her conscience more than ever the living flame, she is seeking with all her forces to raise herself. A country which has resisted and outlasted the Turkish dominion and which has succeeded in preserving the integrity of its race, its language, its religion, a race which peoples the land whence marched the most victorious armies, will never be discouraged by difficulties.

"Bulgaria has nothing to fear, as long as it is united: the future is hers. Its inhabitants before being good soldiers are good workers, sober and laborious. Every people in its history, as every man, has moments of affliction and pain; they must be surmounted with courage."

I do not think there is anything to add to the above statement, it gives us a picture of what *great* and *wise* men can produce when guided by passion and revenge.

P. M. Matthéeff.

TO JOSEPHINE PRESTON PEABODY

It was an island of the sea
Whereon the sun shone clear and strong
I found her there amid the throng
My sister spirit sent to me.
It was a little boat that plies
Between the isle and Portsmouth Town
On which the happy folk go down
For rest and peace neath azure skies.
I knew her only as a soul
Going before me on the way
That leads up to the shining day
We were two spirits with one goal.
She sat the good ship's rail beside,
At rest, with calmly folded hands
As one who knows and understands
And, in high purpose, doth abide.
Her dark eyes, beautiful with dreams
Looked out across the summer sea
But mostly, memory brings to me
Her voice, and, even now, it seems
I hear those dulcet tones again
Like sweetest music on my ear.
In her dear presence who could fear
For right or justice unto men.
We talked as those on sea or shore
When heart with heart doth beat in tune,
The short half hour passed too soon,
The steamer touched at Appledore.
Gladly, we sought the sacred shrine
Or her* whose music reached all hearts
For whom, the sudden tear-drop starts
The memory of both is mine.
And when the summer twilight fell
Across the sea, we gathered there
Forgetting every common care
To hear the truth she came to tell.
That truth so freely fully given
By gracious tender woman's hands
That sealed our hearts with flowery bands,
Now strengthened in the light of heaven.
And when, the classic poem done,
Our plea she could not well refuse
Of how she wrote her "Golden Shoes"
And, mixed with reminiscent fun,
She told us how her days had passed,
And spoke of little personal things
To which the memory fondly clings
Such lives were surely made to last.
I cannot think that she has died
It seems unreal, she said to me
"When you return to Beverly
And see you your poet, step aside
And though, as you have heard me say,
I cannot claim him for a friend
Won't you, my aura please extend
In his direction? do it pray."
Quite willingly, I gave my word
And one in Beverly, who still keeps
His faith in love that never sleeps
Did hearken, and the message heard.

Dear womanly sweet perfect soul.
I should not mourn your early death,
For He who breathed in you the breath
That lately from your bosom stole,
Hath made provision to relieve
The saddened over-burdened heart,
When soul and body slip apart
The unenlightened, mostly, grieve.

Caroline L. Dodge.

*Celia Thaxter.

Medieval Habits of Mind

"All times and all ages overlap, and the ideas of succeeding generations play tag with each other."

Hendrik Van Loon, author of "The Story of Mankind," has packed within these words a world of wisdom. The old view that history could be hung upon the peg of dates gave way to a newer understanding of the past. Just as one generation blends into another without clear or sharp division line so each period of history moves into the next as imperceptibly as a brook flows into the widening stream. Rapids there may be at times—but the stream is constant. "All times and ages overlap and the ideas of succeeding generations play tag with each other."

Ideas are very tenacious things and often long outlive their usefulness. After the mental soil of life has ceased to be nourishing we find ideas which still try to hold on and even crowd out helpful ones. It is a more difficult task for the social scientist to change men's attitudes and habits of thought than it is for a Luther Burbank to transform the cactus into an edible plant. But changes in men's minds do come about through the generations and history is the story of those changes.

History has been interpreted in several ways. Individuals, societies, parties, and nations are said to be moved by one central motive—a motive which gives rise to all the activities of men which make up the record of history. The religious motive, or man's attempt to gain the favor of supernatural powers, is said to be a key to the understanding of history; again, others interpret man's activity in terms of economics and tell us that the story of achievement is the story of the endeavor to solve the bread and butter problem; Aristotle called man a political animal and since man does give so much energy to political activity it is not strange that history has been interpreted in political terms—as the story of man's attempt to rule his kind.

But the best key which I have found to unlock the meaning of the past is not the religious key, nor the economic key, nor the political key alone, but a key which includes each of these—a key which is larger than any one of them. It opens more doors than does any of the lesser keys tried singly.

All of our ancestors have sought to accomplish two things; to successfully adjust themselves to the world in which they lived, and secondly, to control that world for their greater comfort and security. In attempting this man has done the two things necessary for his very existence as a living creature. Every living thing must *adjust* itself to its environment or die. Every living thing must *use* its environment or perish. All human activity in the past, all religious ceremonies, all attempts to make a living, all attempts to create social order, is man's many-sided endeavor to achieve an abundant life. It is his struggle to bring the world, and this includes himself and the society in which he lives, to serve his needs and advance his ideals.

At first sight it might seem that the desirable goals in life should be easily obtained. It would seem that the ways and means of using the material world and the social world in which we live should not give rise to serious disagreements. But history tells us a different story. Until almost yesterday most men took a partial view of life and attempted to *force open* the portals of peace and well-being when their particular key failed to unlock the door. The great doors will only swing inward when the Master Key—the key of Science—is brought to the service of man as he stands on the threshold awaiting to enter into the house of abundant life. He must know himself, he must know his world before he can intelligently direct himself or control that world.

If you will remember about these keys to history you will be able to better understand the world in which you are living today. You will discover that most people are still trying to force the doors of the world with keys which do not fit the locks. You will find proof for Professor Van Loon's statement that "the ideas of succeeding generations play tag with each other." In the world of materials we see on every side the results of a scientific method which has led to the control and guidance of the forces of nature. We cannot remember back to the years in the last century when some of our great grand-fathers thought it was very wicked and contrary to the Holy Bible for men to build railroads which outstripped the horse and carriage upon the dusty road. But you will find plenty of people today who feel precisely the same way about new and modern ideas which have grown up. Why is it that everyone in Exeter would welcome electric light in their homes but would in many instances shut fast their minds to the Unitarian idea of God and man? Why is it that liberalism is suspect and considered dangerous to human society? It is because we are not living in a fully enlightened age. A large number of medieval habits of mind link us to the past. In thousands of communities there stands a church which dominated the thought-life of the Middle Ages and which still maintains that we ought to give up our dangerous and wicked ideas of freedom from authority and return to the safe enclosure of the fold. This church is a great political force in the world and under its skillful diplomacy it is rapidly regaining a place in Europe which it has craved for two centuries. In 1864 it prepared a long list of errors in which it repudiated the separation of church and state, non-sectarian schools, toleration of varieties of religion and concluded by condemning the declaration "that the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism and civilization as lately introduced." But such an attempt to chloroform the modern mind is not limited to a particular group. A Fundamentalist is the unrecognized twin-brother of the Jesuit. Both work for the same end by different routes. Each wishes to substitute authority for freedom and replace democracy with autocracy. They wish to stifle scientific teaching and reduce our thought life to the level of a Central American mission station or a Moody Institute in Chicago. Let us open our eyes to the fact that any men, be they ecclesiastes, politicians or rich benefactors, who seek to control or eliminate freedom of inquiry and fulness of expression within university, college or school, debase learning and transform mental independence to moral servitude.

Professor E. A. Ross characterizes the Middle Ages as based on the principle of subordination.

> For the great mass obedience was the law of life—obedience to the church, the ruler, the lord, the guild, the head of the family. God's will was back of them. It was nothing else than the free action of the critical intellect which ripped up this strait-jacket. Once reason was accepted as arbiter instead of tradition, or faith, or Pope, or over-lord, every kind of authority was called upon to exhibit its credentials.

In so far as they put off these yokes of authority they gained that much desired control over human society and over the world. They came into possession of a new life-giving authority—the authority of tested experience. The old unquestioning submission to Pope or ruler or Bible prevented our ancestors from making social experiments. The applied sciences were chained to the Scriptures and the books of Aristotle. The marvelous control over nature which we know today was impossible until the mind broke away from external authority and went into the laboratory to test its theories by experiment.

Men's bodies suffered because their minds were in the possession of Pope or Emperor. Most men of the Middle ages were like cattle to be used at the convenience of the lord of the manor, to work early and late for a hovel and a crust of bread;—or at times he left his little patch of land to give his life in dynastic and mercenary quarrels which only gave him death or a more miserable existence upon his return home. As a body he was exploited; as a soul he was possessed.

But with the dawning of the Renaissance came the full day of the Reformation in which millions of minds freed themselves from Papal bondage. Their minds cleared and they saw things as they were—not as the clergy wished them to see them. Freedom came through the awakened mind. It is ridiculous to say that men are held down by anything other than the stupidity within their own heads. Despots understand this and that is why they either suppress education or else direct it.

The new awakening brought with it the development of science and man rapidly gained power over the world. But the control and guidance of himself has come more slowly. It has been attended with much pain and bitterness. The powerful few who stand to lose age-old privileges of caste and exploitation have thrown obstacle after obstacle in the way of a collective control of life. Concessions have come grudgingly and usually at the threat of grave trouble. The most urgent task of the church today is to educate men to mutual sacrifice that there may be a peaceful transition from the old order to the new. The modern mission of religion is adequately expressed in these words of Professor Harry F. Ward,

> The chief contribution that religion can make to the new order is to develop the sacrificial spirit. Christianity preaches the gospel of redemption and regeneration through sacrifice. Can it now get its followers to practice that gospel, as individuals, as classes, as nations?

Our mental habits must become more flexible and our imagination must extend our sympathies. We must be open-minded and seek to understand our needs and our opportunities. We must not allow inherited habits of mind to prevent the successful adjustment of ourselves to new conditions. We must not be like the farmers in two stories which Professor Ross tells to illustrate the control of habits which become not only useless but laughable.

> Among the New England hills the settlers discovered that the best way to build a barn was to set the foundation in a hillside, keep the animals in the basement, and drive the hay wagons from the up-hill side into the second floor on a level. When their descendants migrated to the flat prairies of Illinois, they continued to build barns in the only way they knew. Having no hillside, they built the barn first, built a plank hillside running up into the barn, and then got stalled trying to haul loads of hay up this superfluous hill!
>
> In the early day in the level West the practice struck root of laying out roads on the section lines. Later the gridiron plan was adhered to even in rough country where it would be more economical to lay out the roads according to the contour, so that they would follow the water courses or the water partings. Today millions of loads are needlessly hauled over hill after hill on their way to market and thousands of hillside roads are washed away every season because men blindly follow precedent.

It is such habits of mind that give rise to a Middle Ages. They prevent us from successfully using the Master Key. But through the lessons of hard experience man has learned many things. The freed mind put behind itself the ideas of feudal custom and usage. It grew into democracy in religion and politics. History is continuous and the free mind continues to reshape institutions. In the modern world of industry men will not be content as second editions of Medieval land serfs. They are relinquishing medieval habits of mind. They begin to understand that full freedom can only come when democracy has transformed industry as well as religion and politics.

The future is ours to shape. It can be what the free mind desires. But that mind must be eternally active. We are proud that some of our ancestors valiantly stood in the breach for freedom in olden times. What part are we willing to play in the lifetime which is given us?

Sometime the future will judge our day. What an inglorious chapter if men shall read that we were so blind and selfish and hesitating that we relinquished the liberties bequeathed to us. But how glorious the page if men shall read that we held fast that which was good, freeing ourselves from the unhappy errors of other days, and handed on to the future new achievements in the adventure of the soul which strives to make this earth the minister of its needs and society a great co-operative fellowship!

ROWLAND F. NYE.

TO JAMES KENNEDY MOORHEAD.

(Killed in France, October 5, 1918.)

When I see beauty I must think of you,
For you loved life and all life's richness so;
Oh, why, I vainly ask the silent fates,
Did they let base men stay and let you go?

When I hear music I can see your face,
Gently and proudly formed, and delicate of line,
So fair in contrast with the common throng;
Oh, for your loss there is no anodyne.

When I go wandering in solitude,
And night's first shadows dull the quiet sky,
I hear your voice and know your golden smile;
Oh, Kennedy, my friend, how could you die?

South Casco, Maine. JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

THE HIDDEN GIFT.

If Love should come again to your lone life
  Bearing a hidden gift—not to be shown
  To you by him till Time were overthrown—
Claiming nor friendship's love, nor love of wife,
But searching only, with his eye, your heart
  Till answering love rayed forth your full reply,
  (Refuting your belief that love could die)
Renewing there the power you felt depart,—
  How would you meet such undreamed wizardry?

Truly, 'twere strange! Yet—possible to thought;
  For Love, we know, is God's first, last decree;
  Man's love, but partial,—changing with his mood.
What!—would Love's hidden gift of such be wrought
For *you?* Not so. 'Twere—union with the All-Good!

ALICE N. SPICER.

The Periscope

A news dispatch of some weeks ago on legal accusations filed against the Ku Klux Klan, reveals the membership of that organization to be approximately two million. Such a phenomenal growth warrants, on the part of thoughtful American citizens, a careful consideration of the specific national factors which have made the development of so powerful a secret order possible. Already the vogue which this society is enjoying, is strikingly similar to that of its American prototype, the "Sons of '76 or Order of the Star-Spangled Banner," popularly known in our national history as the "American Party" or the "Know Nothings."

The latter name was gained through the stereotyped reply given by any of its members when questioned concerning the purposes and activities of the order. Any interrogated member invariably replied, "I don't know." By 1855 this secret organization had grown so powerful that it was able in that year to elect the "governors and legislatures of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, and California," besides gaining a handsome number of votes in six of the southern States. Later it nominated a candidate for United States President. Yet it is interesting to note that in the face of all these successes, no less a publicist than Horace Greeley boldly asserted that the party "contained about as much of the elements of permanence as an anti-cholera or an anti-potato-rot society." And history has proved the truth of Greeley's assertion. Is the Ku Klux Klan destined to an equally short career? Does it, like its predecessor, lack the elements of permanence?

The "Know Nothings" stood on the political doctrine that "Americans must rule America." They were bitterly opposed to the Roman Catholic Church, viewing with alarm its increasing power. They were also opposed to the flood of immigration which was characteristic of that period, and especially to the political ambitions which some of the immigrants showed in seeking public office. Thus we see that their organization rested on the three-cornered foundation of religious, racial and class antipathy, the same foundation as that upon which the Klan is built. It is interesting to note further that there is a similarity in the character of the two historical periods which have witnessed the development of these secret societies. This similarity is most marked by the lack in each of an important economic issue—both are characterized by national prosperity. Woodrow Wilson, writing of this particular ante bellum era, says:

> All the while the industrial development of the country went on as if there were no politics. . . . The foreign trade of the United States steadily grew in volume, receiving its impulse in part, of course, from the great gold discoveries in California. A transcontinental railway was spoken of.

It is a recognized historical fact that prejudices of a racial, religious and class nature invariably find expression in periods when there is no economic struggle. During times of economic strife when the voter is seeking, through political means, for financial help, that candidate which seems to be most capable of giving the economic end desired is elected to office regardless of his race or his religious beliefs. But during lulls, when the all paramount economic issue is not under discussion—it is then that we find the farmer and the small business man casting his vote according to the dictates of his religious, racial, or class antipathies.

He, therefore, who seeks to make political capital out of human animosities, does so under the ever-present danger of having his little program shattered by the rise of some vital principle or political tenet. The problem of secession left no room in the mind of the American public of 1858 for the further development of the intolerance and the hatred which had fostered the chief platform of the American Party. Such foundations of enmity, as many besides Horace Greeley must have seen, could not be permanent. The same holds true in our generation. Made possible through lack of a vital political problem, and greatly stimulated by the abnormal psychic condition which America in this postwar period finds itself, the Ku Klux Klan is growing like a mushroom, but like a mushroom it is but the product of a summer's night, destined to but passing mention in the annals of our national commonwealth. It is, from the point of view of possessing political significance, unquestionably an ephemeral organization, for in an age so freighted with economic and social problems the present respite will not be long enough to permit the development of a national religious or racial faction.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

Country Glimpses

As we skirted the shore of our Wisconsin lake all its beauty seemed new to us. Glimpses of pale green wheat fields between two groves of dark trees—the distant purple wooded hills in the shadow of great clouds—the rocky banks, o'errun with vines and ferns—sandstone bluffs, capped by dark, forbidding pines—the white birches bent or broken by the winter's sleet, touching the water's edge—the silver-sanded beaches—surely they had never seemed quite so beautiful.

The clouds cast their dark shadows on the tranquil lake, great purple patterns upon the pale green carpet; the fish jumped with a splash, leaving ever widening eddies to show whence they had come, bank swallows soared above us, then lightly skimmed the surface of the water and suddenly darted into their holes in the clay banks. Beautiful, graceful terns with black heads and underbodies, gleaming as if still wet, and gray backs, wings and tails, flew lightly about, almost touching us, and then dropped swiftly to the water, to rise with minnows in their bills, and then circled away.

Suddenly a bald-headed eagle came over the tree tops before us, so close that we could easily discern its white head and tail, and flew majestically across our bow, directly over the broad expanse of water and was soon lost in the dense woods of the hill beyond. Here the breeze freshened and the dark pines and oaks and walnut trees swayed rhythmically. In which of those almost inaccessible trees was the eery nest safely hidden? They guarded their secret well.

Great was our delight, and rare our treat, to see a blue crane walking amongst the reeds along a nearby shore, its body melting into the greens and grays of the marsh, sometimes coming into full relief against the young yellow willows, and again quite hidden, its long

light neck and head looking like a heavy cane, or like a last year's cat-tail bent by its own weight. Sometimes it stood quite still with head bent, watching for a fish; again, perfectly motionless upon the water, its head on the same level—then a dart, and the head was raised, a fish in its beak, and it rose to its feet with head lifted still higher to enjoy thoroughly the dainty morsel. Once the fish slipped back into the water, but, with a quick movement, the crane recovered it and resumed its stately march. Silently each foot was raised and lowered, leaving not a ripple to betray it. Sometimes its head raised as if listening, it turned our way. Then a lumbering wagon approached and off the crane flew, raising itself ever so lightly, and disappearing beyond the tree tops—its slender body, with head stretched forward and legs protruding in the rear, looking like an horizontal interrogation point. Hours later, as our boat passed, the crane was searching for fish a little farther along the same shore. But this time its search was of short duration. A flock of blackbirds descended upon it and drove it away. Indeed, one bold blackbird chased it with grim determination, flying above it and alighting upon its head, until they were both lost in the deep reeds behind an old bridge.

As we turned homeward, a pair of beautiful black loons with white breasts swam immediately in front of the launch until, suddenly perceiving us, they dived, to reappear many yards off our starboard. H. S. N.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NON-AMERICANIZATION OF EMIGRANTS.

An Answer to Elizabeth Frazer's Article in the "Saturday Evening Post."

Whoever reads the article in the *Saturday Evening Post* of August 14, 1923, entitled: "Our Foreign Cities—Chicago," by Elizabeth Frazer, certainly receives a most deplorable impression of European Emigrants—especially of the Italians—in the United States of America, because the authoress interests herself particularly in the lowest class of emigrants, and sets forth only their deficiencies and their misery, her information no doubt coming from one of the many insignificant labor agencies whose chiefs are notoriously known as unscrupulous merchants of human flesh, and are not in a position to give just information regarding emigrants in general. On the other hand, the authoress omits mentioning the good qualities of the emigrants and entirely disregards the better element which European emigration—particularly the Italian—has already brought to America.

A conscientious writer ought to set forth not only the "cons" but also the "pros" (that is to say, the favorable as well as the unfavorable), especially when subjects of such vital social importance are concerned. Otherwise, the reader only sees the one side of the truth (if the truth exists in Elizabeth Frazer's article), and it is upon this one and only side that he bases his opinion on the subject discussed by a careless and unjust writer.

Elizabeth Frazer treats her subject in such pessimistic darkness that she comes to the conclusion that European emigrants —the Italians in particular—are absolutely insusceptible to Americanization and to the assimilation of the best America has to offer them. Consequently, with her conclusion she does not recognize in the emigrant even the natural instinct of an animal toward its own betterment.

I believe I know the Italian emigrants of the United States well enough, having studied the situation for a long time, and having published a book covering my impressions, entitled: "The Journalism of the Italian Emigrants in North America" —Chicago, and therefore I venture to set forth a few facts quite contrary (if not totally, at least to a great extent) to the foolish and slanderous assertions of Elizabeth Frazer.

For instance, there are hundreds of thousands of Italians in the United States of America who are naturalized American citizens. In Agriculture, in the Industries, in Commerce, in Finance, in Politics, in Sport, in Science and Art, in Education, in fact in all fields of American activity, the Italian emigrants have demonstrated in the past, and always will demonstrate more and more, that they know how to Americanize themselves and assimilate to the fullest extent that which America offers them. Furthermore, the emigrants of today are not like the ones of the old days, to whom, no doubt, Elizabeth Frazer refers with such posthumous zeal.

Emigration.—The American Commissioner of Emigration at Ellis Island is the Italian, Mr. Caminetti, who has held the office for years.

Labor.—The members of the American Labor Organizations are in good part Italians.

Agriculture.—The vineyards, the orange and lemon orchards, the very finest of their kind in this country, were grown and developed to their present state by Italian emigrants, and they are in their hands.

Industries.—The Boston Fisheries, considered among the most important in the United States, were established and developed to their present flourishing state by Italian emigrants, and are in their hands.

Commerce.—South Water Street of Chicago, one of the wonders of Chicago and the most important wholesale fruit market in the United States, was established and developed to its present state by Italian emigrants, and it is almost entirely in their hands. An Italian emigrant—a Mr. Garibaldi—was for years, and up to his death, the President of the South Water Street organization. Among the high grade confectioners in the city of Chicago, the Allegretti Company has enjoyed splendid reputation for years, etc.

Finance.—The greatest American Bank of the West—from Chicago to California—is the Bank of Italy, San Francisco, established and developed to its present state by Italian emigrants, and it is in their hands. This Bank has numerous branches, among them the New York Branch, which rivals the greatest banks of that Metropolis. The Italian, Conte Minotto, is Vice-president of the Boulevard Bridge Bank in Chicago.

Politics.—The President of the City Council of New York is the Italian, Mr. Fiorello La Guardia, who was also candidate for Mayor of New York during the last election. The District Attorney of New York City is the Italian, Mr. Pecora. A State Senator of New York is the Italian, Mr. Cotillo, etc., etc.

Among the Judges in Chicago there are three Italians—Barasa, Borelli, Gualano. Judge Barasa was also candidate for Mayor of Chicago during the last election. And in smaller American cities some of the mayors are Italians.

Science.—The only American Pasteur Institute in Chicago is the one established and directed by the Italian, Dr. Lagorio. One of the best American Hospitals in Chicago is the Columbus Hospital, facing Lincoln Park, established and owned by Italians. The Italian, John B. Zingrone of Chicago is one of the greatest American X-ray operators. He was the confidential assistant to the famous surgeon, Professor J. B. Murphy, who appointed him to make the X-ray pictures of President Roosevelt.

Art.—The Italian, Count di Cesnola, was for years and years, up to his death, the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The two greatest American Opera Companies are in the hands of Italians—the New York Opera Company, being directed by the Italian, Gatti-Casazza, and the Chicago Opera Company being directed by the Italian, Maestro Polacco. Among the best American moving picture stars are the Italian, Rodolfo Valentino, and many others. Not counting the myriads of American singers, music teachers, architects, sculptors, painters, etc., who are of Italian blood.

The architect and director of the new Union Station of Chicago, now under construction—to be the greatest railroad station in the world, is an Italian.

The American inventor of artificial lightning is the Italian engineer, Mr. Faccioli.

Professions.—There are hundreds of Italians, naturalized American citizens, who are practicing law; hundreds of physicians, as well as druggists, etc.

Sports.—The American Golf champion is the Italian, Sarazene. The American champion of automobile racing is the Italian, De Palma. Among the American ring champions are the Italians, Dundee, Wilson, Gennaro, and even Dempsey, who is of Italian descent. The American cowboy winner of the recent horse races at Harlem River, New York, is the Italian, Tony Pagona. In swimming, running, bicycle racing, etc., some of the best American champions are Italians.

Hygiene.—Several of the finest residences in choice sections

of Chicago are occupied by Italian millionaires like Cuneo, Costa, Garibaldi, Lagorio, etc.

Education.—One of the greatest American educators is the Italian, Angelo Patri; not counting the numerous Catholic American educational institutions (universities, colleges, high schools) in all parts of the United States, almost all of them established and directed by Italians. Dozens of professors in the American Universities and Colleges are Italians.

In the last high school examinations in New York City, two Italian boys, Bernardo and Vincenzo Cioffari, exceeded by 5.03 and 3.77 respectively, the very highest average (92%) ever attained by anyone in the history of the New York Schools.

I could mention many other facts to prove that the Italian emigrants desire and know how to Americanize themselves, that they desire and know how to assimilate the best America has to offer them, by securing for themselves American positions of such importance, and in every field imaginable, as to be envied by those Americans whose individuality Elizabeth Frazer so highly praises. Such positions are attained by Italian emigrants notwithstanding the disadvantages they suffer due to the difference in language, and more than anything else, due to the cruel prejudices held against them, such as those clearly to be conceived from the lines of Elizabeth Frazer's article. But the enumeration would have no end.

However, I still want to call attention to the many marriages between high class Americans and Italians in America, which naturally indicates that Italian emigrants do become naturalized American citizens and that they do assimilate the good America offers them.

In addition, there is not an Italian newspaper in the United States that does not continually preach to Italian emigrants the gospel of *Americanization, Americanization, Americanization!*

At any rate, if the Italian quarters of any city lack cleanliness the fault lies particularly with the American health authorities who neglect such quarters and do not enforce, with the necessary rigor, the observance of the laws covering public hygiene.

One should not entirely condemn the ignorant, the humble, the poor, and pretend that they spontaneously uplift themselves. Instead the learned and the rich, who generally neglect the ignorant and the poor, should extend to them a helping hand in order to uplift them to a higher standard of living. This ought to be the mission of *real civilization.*

This is the most sacred and most beautiful mission that America has the duty to accomplish, since she believes herself, nowadays, to be the leading nation of the world.

Chicago, August, 1923. LUIGI CARNOVALE.

PAN-ASIANISM.

Editor of UNITY:

Dear Sir:—The enclosed article printed in Lahore, India, gives an adequate idea of the spirit of Pan-Asianism that is raging in Asia. This is not making for world peace. Pan-Asianism, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Slavism, Pan-Anglo-Saxonism, etc., are no *better* than the condemned Pan-Germanism. The Pan-Asian tide is due to European expansion in and exploitation of Asia. The slaves of Asia are on the point of revolt against their masters. Is there no remedy? Gandhi says, "Practice Non-violent Non-co-operation." Tagore says, "East and West must meet with changed hearts to find the bond of unity in common humanity." But the West respects the sword of Kemal Pasha more than these sages; because Gandhi rots in jail with the apparent silent approval of the western world, and the most the West thinks of Tagore is that he is a great philosopher and poet. I am an advocate of Asian independence as one of the necessary requisites for World Peace; but I condemn the "Spirit of East vs. West" with all the emphasis I can command. But unless Justice prevails in the East, unless the teeming millions be given their simple birthright of human liberty, the East will rise, because tyranny must result in revolt. Has not the time come that the wise statesmanship of the West should change its policy towards Asia? Sincerely yours,

TARAKNATH DAS.

"THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN.

"The *New Burma* is a recent addition to the list of English journals in Burma. It is edited and managed by Burmans. It had to deposit one thousand Rupees as security with the authorities before its publication was allowed. The Indian Press act, the like of which cannot be found in any civilized country, provides that the security amount can be forfeited by the executive officers at their own will, and that no appeal shall lie with the judiciary. That is, even the highest Court in the British Empire has no power to interfere with the action, however unjust it may be, of an executive officer, so far as the press in India is concerned.

"In the issue of the 10th April last, the editor discussed the question of 'the White Man's Burden.' The subject has been masterfully and lucidly dealt with. No better presentation of Asia's case at the bar of the world's public opinion could have been made.

"It is one of the many instances of the fact that Asia has awakened. She has discerned the new light on the horizon and grasped its true significance. She is now busy in adjusting herself so as to be in conformity with the new spirit. *Any number of Norman Angells will not be able to thwart her progress. To attempt to obstruct her onward march is like trying to 'extract sun beams from cucumbers.'* She does not covet land, wealth or power, for selfish end; she does not wish to pay her erstwhile enemies back in their own coin. Her mission is lofty and transcendent. She will devote herself to the moral uplift and the spiritual regeneration of the world. By the contribution of her conserved treasures she will build up a complete humanity, when everybody will have the opportunity for a free and untrammeled exercise of his body, mind and soul, when camouflaged justice and humanity will be supplanted by real ones, and when various artificial laws and creeds created by the self-set-up arbiters of the destinies of mankind will be swept away giving place to natural ones. We reproduce below the article *in toto*:

"'It is said that the work of civilizing the non-white population of the world is the white man's burden. Whether it is true both in letter and in spirit is shown by the work done so far by the whites towards the non-whites—especially in the case of Europe's treatment towards Asia. It is true to a great extent that Asia's present-day enlightenment comes from Europe, but at the same time one cannot be blind to the fact that the major portion of Asia has either been held in bondage by Europe or, at least in the case of some parts, they have been living under European terrorism. Asia's freedom has been wrested by the great European Powers. Some European writers are sometimes misled into thinking that their respective countrymen have been conferring a great boon upon Asia by introducing European civilization in the eastern continent. But as a matter of fact most Asiatics have been driven into slavery by sheer brute force of modern European inventions of warfare. Asia has been conquered not through any altruistic motives on the part of Europe, but through human love of power and glory. Almost every nook and corner of Asia is being exploited for the express purpose of enriching the exploiters, and these exploitations and conquests are often euphemistically termed freedom, justice and liberty. The poor Asians—because they are too weak and small—have to gulp down their throats these "boons" of freedom, justice and liberty. The so-called European civilization is often wrought by the sword or the cannon, fellow-Asiatics often being used as cannon-fodder by the so-called civilizers. Asia's mouth is gagged and her European masters proclaim to the world that Asia loves and consents to their rule. And when an Asiatic tries to speak what is right and just, he is often labelled as a seditionist or a rebel. An Asiatic's love of his motherland is often termed sedition or disloyalty. And when an Asiatic tries to assert his legitimate claims, he is told to adopt constitutional methods, but on the other hand the Europeans' method is invariably the physical force that is always available at his command.

"'What is true of Asia is also true of other non-white countries such as Africa and others. The non-white portions of the earth have been mercilessly exploited by the whites to their advantage. How long, one would like to ask, will this ceaseless exploitation go on? Is this ceaseless exploitation going to be ceaseless for ever? Judging from the trend of present-day world-politics, a non-white should hope that better days are in store for him. The spirit of Democracy is pervading every part of the world—even the desert of Mongolia being not excepted. Every non-white should make a point to love his motherland first and work for her salvation, for in the mother's salvation lies that of her son's.'"

Lahore, India. —*The Liberal Press.*

AN APPEAL BY DR. HERTHA KRAUS.

Editor of UNITY:

May I have space in your columns to broadcast the appeal made by Dr. Hertha Kraus at the recent conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, for reading matter for the people of Germany. Packages of old magazines may be sent to her care, *Wohlfahrtsamt, Cöln a/Rh., Germany.* The intellectual hunger there, Dr. Kraus says, is as keen as the physical hunger, and people will be most grateful for this kindness.

BLANCHE WATSON.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

LINCOLN CENTRE FORUM.

On October 5, the Lincoln Centre Forum, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, will open the season with a lecture on "The Drama of Today" by Richard Burton, of the University of Minnesota. Last season Professor Burton delighted a large audience with his lecture on "The Revolution in Poetry." This is a great opportunity, do not miss it.

Among the speakers following are, Channing Pollock, author of "The Fool," Professor S. Perlman of the University of Wisconsin, Helen Thompson Wooley and Joseph Jastrow, well known specialists in psychology, James Weldon Johnson, poet, Y. R. Chao of Harvard University, Henry Neumann, leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Society, and John Haynes Holmes, who will speak on December 14.

Program from January 4 to March 28 promises to be equally interesting, with such well-known lecturers as Ferdinand Schevill, Robert Morss Lovett, Harry F. Ward, Scott Nearing, Anna Garlin Spencer, Paul Douglas, Bertrand Russell and others.

The month of April will be devoted to a study of the poets.

A thirty-five cent luncheon is served after each meeting. This is a good time to meet one's friends.

Tickets may be had in advance by sending checks to Mrs. Charles E. Nagely, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago. Course tickets for twenty-eight meetings, $5.00. Single admission fifty cents.

WAR OR FELLOWSHIP.

Notes from F. O. R. Conference.

The embroglio between Italy and Greece, the tense situation in the Ruhr, and the coal strike, all gave vivid interest to the annual conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, made up of representatives from many parts of the United States and foreign countries, all of whom maintain that it is possible for nations to settle differences without war, and for industrial life to be ordered on the basis of teamwork rather than on strife-breeding competition. The headquarters of the Fellowship is at 396 Broadway, New York City.

Not only do the several thousand members of this organization believe these things possible but at this conference at Belmar, N. J., from September 6th to 10th, several days were spent listening to many reports of the effectiveness of Fellowship methods and laying plans for further extension of international and economic friendly relations.

The assemblage listened with rapt attention while Haridas Mazumdar, from India, told of his meeting with Gandhi. Not only did Gandhi preach non-resistance, but he announced that if any of his followers attempted violence, because he had been sent to prison, he would fast until such violence ceased, even though this might lead to his death.

Dr. Hertha Kraus, City Director of Welfare Work, Cologne, gave such a realistic account of the terrible poverty in her city that the conference immediately insisted on taking up a collection of several hundred dollars as a slight evidence of international good-will.

George Collins, who represents the Fellowship in the colleges, gave most striking accounts of how college students had spent their summer vacations working at various trades, getting the viewpoint of labor and thus preparing themselves to help solve the industrial problems of the day in their later business or professional life.

Dr. Francis N. Maxfield, psychologist of the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction, emphasized the difficulties in changing human nature, that is, our inherited traits; but explained how such traits might be diverted from anti-social to social ends, as for example the desire for combat might be expressed in struggling against evil conditions rather than killing men.

"If we really want to live in fellowship with people we will follow the way of Jesus in giving up all that secures for us economic advantage," was the challenge flung out by Dr. Scott Nearing, of the Rand School, New York. This brought out some of the most animated discussion of the sessions, many declaring afterwards that they intended to live more simply hereafter, since a sharing of goods is necessary concomitant of fellowship.

Announcement was made of a gift of $1,000 to be used in sending *The World Tomorrow*, the monthly magazine which expresses the Fellowship spirit, to Germany, to help meet in a small way the intellectual poverty which oppresses so profoundly that country.

Exploitation must be replaced by an industrial system of co-operation, was the solution offered in place of our present economic system, with its recurring industrial conflicts.

A high standard of living is not one which includes large expenditures for food, clothing and rent but moderate expenditures for these things and more spent on music, art and other cultural activities, was a new thought to many of the delegates. A highly cultured society is not one in which a few fortunate ones have large private libraries, magnificent private art galleries and extensive private parks, while the masses have none of these opportunities for the higher life. "Destroyed by a million dollars" is a frequent story of those whose souls shrivel while their pockets bulge.

"Should we punish evil-doers," was the question raised at one of the meetings, the speaker pointing out that in all our prayers we do not ask God to deal with us justly but to have mercy upon us, and so we should do to others.

Through every discussion of many topics there was evident a universal feeling that the fundamental basis of fellowship is a realization of the unity of all in a spiritual brotherhood.

THE BOTTOMLESS PIT IN ANATOLIA

During the last ten years the American public has given over $70,000,000 for relief work in the Near East.

During the last hundred years this same public has given over $50,000,000 for constructively permanent work in the Near East, schools, hospitals, orphanages, asylums, and churches.

A considerable portion of the permanent investment of $50,000,000 has been wasted by war, and through wanton atrocity.

The entire Christian constituency of this costly civilization has been either massacred or deported. More than 1,300,000 of these people are refugees today.

This is not a paying proposition.

Giving money does not necessarily mean giving thought. Yet the very fact of giving carries with it a responsibility to see that the gift brings full value. But money so expended can never bring full value either to the giver or to those who receive until the Christian minorities are established on a basis of permanent security and opportunity. Unless this is done history will repeat itself. The Turk can destroy faster than we can create.

If a man is out of work and starving what do we do? First we relieve his hunger by feeding him. That is the prime necessity. But next we get him a job so that he will not be hungry again. If we do only the first of these things our work is half done. On the other hand we cannot do the second unless we do the first.

We cannot, must not, stop the relief work we are doing. Indeed we must do even more. Otherwise the man will starve to death.

But we can, and must, see to it that when his life is saved its future shall be guaranteed. Otherwise, sooner or later, he will have his agony and we our expenditure to go through all over again.

Within the last eight months more than 1,300,000 men, women, and children have been driven from their homes in Anatolia. They have gone through sufferings almost beyond description, and, but for the charity of the world, they could not have survived. As it is they are broken, hungry, half clothed, and homeless.

Two things must be done. Two steps must be taken.

First, the help that has been given must continue to go to them. Otherwise they will perish.

Second, their lives must be so protected that they will be of value to themselves and to humanity. It is not enough simply to keep them alive. That is only a half measure. They

A CORRECTION.

Editor of UNITY:—

Inclosed find check to extend my subscription to UNITY.

May I ask you to make a correction of a statement which appeared in UNITY in your issue of June 7th, p. 229.

I introduced the resolution calling for amnesty to political prisoners which was passed by the American Unitarian Association.

I heartily approve of what you said concerning Henry W. Pinkham's long and brave fight for this cause, but for strategic reasons it may be well to make the correction for the fight is not ended as long as any remain in prison for conscience sake.

Again I say all honor to Pinkham. GEORGE L. THOMPSON.

must be brought to a point where they can care for themselves; where they can produce and develop. What has happened must not be permitted to happen again.

What is needed now is more than money. It is a sense of responsibility in the American public for the protection of their investment. More than $120,000,000 has been invested in human lives.

First, those lives must be saved. That means money and labor.

Second, they must be protected. They must be placed on a footing of permanent security and opportunity. Otherwise our great investment is a failure. That means thought, and the courage to act.

This can only be achieved by—

(*A*) Providing a home for the remnants of the Armenian people, and guaranteeing the permanent safety of that home. Further than this, and in so far as is possible, they should be indemnified for their losses in order that they may start life anew.

(*B*) Providing for the Anatolian Greeks through help given to the Greek nation. They cannot carry the burden alone. Today Greece is being dragged down into the pit with those she is trying to save.

Only in this way can the American investment be saved.

Only in this way can further expenditure be prevented.

If these lives were worth saving they are worth preserving.

NEAR EAST JUSTICE COMMITTEE.
New York City.

Answers Mr. Bryan

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